

THE “*CONDER*” TOKEN

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THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONDER TOKEN COLLECTOR’S CLUB

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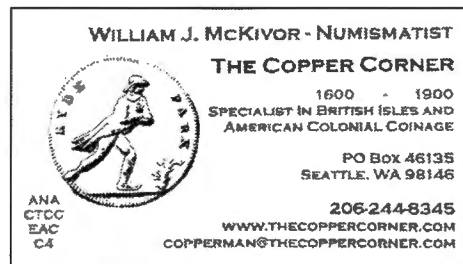
WILLIAM WALLER , PUDDINGTON , BEDFORDSHIRE ?

BILL McKIVOR—CTCC #3.

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Something special on the way in----- 2009

COMING: THE FIRST BRITISH TOKEN CONGRESS IN AMERICA-

Dates: May 14, 15, 16, 2009. (A Thurs, Fri, Sat meeting). Place: The Red Lion Hotel, 1415 5th Ave, Seattle, Washington. Host: Bill McKivor.

The Congress is sold to over 50% capacity already, do not be left out. It is going to be a fun time, talks, food, and friends. Please join us----- See the note elsewhere in the Journal and get on the list for a great time!!



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Sir Jeffery Dunstan c.1800



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THIS IS OUR 50TH ISSUE OF THE CTCC JOURNAL

Beginning with Wayne Anderson's vision in 1996 our club has published well over 2000 pages of information about the fascinating Conder series. This has included technical articles, entertaining articles, discussions, tokens for sale and much more. Our Journal will be read by token enthusiasts decades and even centuries into the future. If we are to continue to build on this body of knowledge original articles are needed for publication in the Journal. I am always happy to help anyone develop an idea or put the finishing touches on an article. You do not need to be a Conder scholar to write an interesting, informative article and become a published author. Any member who contributes a major original article will receive a special color cover of that issue.

BRITISH TOKEN CONGRESS IN SEATTLE SPRING 2009

The Congress has been written up in Coin World, and will be in other venues, EAC, C4, some Canadian papers, and has been sent to TAMS, World Coin News, and others. There will probably be a mention at some point in the Numismatist. Up until now the CTCC Journal has been the only place it has been advertised, but with the new ads coming out and the room limit, it would be good if anyone considering coming contact Bill McKivor soon. More details about the Congress are on page 26 of this issue.

VOLUNTEER WEBMASTER NEEDED

The club needs a volunteer to revise and maintain our website www.conderclub.org. I have been the club webmaster for several years but am now cutting back some of my activities. I am sure several members have much more advanced skills than mine and could provide an up to date dynamic site for the club. Please contact me if you can help the club increase its presence on the internet.

GOOD MONEY : COMMERCIAL COINS IN BRITAIN INTERVIEW

A 30 minute radio interview with Dr. George Selgin on the Conder era is available for download or online listening from WICN public radio at <http://wicn.org/audio/inquiry-george-selgin>

ON THE COVER

The rare tokens of William Waller from Pudington (sic) are thoroughly investigated in this issue by Michael Dickinson. The identity of the issuer is revealed and a solid case made that the tokens are incorrectly attributed to Bedfordshire by Dalton and Hamer. Michael's detective work makes entertaining and informative reading.



The Anglesey Halfpenny of 1790 by Matthew Boulton

Chris Leather

Whilst the first copper token of the industrial revolution was, of course, the Halsall Penny, possibly by Matthew Boulton, which was struck to pay the workers at Colonel Mordaunt's cotton mill, it is also true that the first copper tokens to be widely circulated were the Anglesey Druids made by Thomas Williams for his Parys Mine Company.



Fig 1. Obverse and Reverse of Anglesey Penny token 1787

Starting with pennies in 1787, and with the addition of halfpennies in 1788, a torrent of copper made the face of the Druid one of the best-known images in the country. The numbers made cannot now be precisely determined, but in 1801 Charles Pye of Birmingham, who knew many of the token issuers of the time, published his estimate of the total stuck at two hundred and fifty tons of pennies, and fifty tons of halfpennies. This is certainly an understatement, as these totals do not appear to include the coins struck by Matthew Boulton in 1789, and 1791, or those struck in London by W Williams in 1791.



Fig 2. Obverse and Reverse of Anglesey Halfpenny token 1789
The obverse die shows the Druid designed and engraved by John Hancock

But although these dates, 1787, 1788, 1789 and 1791, are well-known to collectors of the Anglesey series, there are other pieces, equally genuine, dated 1790. Some of these are rare, and some are extremely rare. Some were struck by W Williams of St Martin's Lane, London, and some by Boulton. But all were more in the nature of trials, or patterns, than pieces intended for circulation, as the numbers struck were measured rather in dozens of coins than tons of copper.

This note will look at the 1790 halfpence, struck at Soho by Matthew Boulton, which have the distinction of being **the world's first truly modern coins, fully round and of regular size and weight, struck by steam, in a collar.**

Boulton had taken over production of Druid halfpence in 1789 when, for a number of reasons, not all of them creditable, Thomas Williams decided to cease operation of his own Parys Mine Mint in Great Charles Street, Birmingham. Boulton had purchased the presses used by Williams, more to suppress them than because of any use they might have been, but he continued to use dies engraved with the now-traditional Druid by Hancock.



Fig 3. Obverse and Reverse of Anglesey Pattern Halfpenny 1790
with obverse Druid by Rambert Dumarest

But Boulton preferred, unsurprisingly, to have all the aspects of coin production under his own control, and therefore he commissioned his newly-recruited engraver Rambert Dumarest to produce a Druid head pattern for the Anglesey pieces. Dumarest produced, in fact, two slightly different heads, but on receiving the first of these, sent from Dumarest's home in France in early July 1790, Boulton complained that *'it has too little relief and would soon be defaced in the striking.'* Remedying the situation could be done by a jobbing engraver modifying Dumarest's original die, but Boulton preferred to wait upon Dumarest's arrival at Soho when the work could be done by the master himself.

As, indeed, it was, but it was not done quickly, and by the middle of October 1790 Williams was protesting to Boulton that *'I am more disappointed than I can express that I have not yet got any Coins from you.'*

Dumarest was not the only factor in the delay, however; in addition to developing a new style for the Anglesey coinage, Boulton and his technicians were working on a radical improvement to the way in which his mint operated. The Macclesfield, Cronebane and Anglesey tokens of 1789 had all been struck on steam powered presses, at Soho, but they had all been struck on edge marked blanks without the use of a collar. Boulton's original collar mechanism, the six segment 'plateau' invented by Droz, was unsatisfactory for large scale coin production, and had been abandoned for all except proofs and patterns. The 1789 coins were, therefore, a kind of hybrid, struck by steam but on blanks which expanded at random on striking, in just the same fashion as coins struck on hand presses. They were not truly round, and the edges bulged. They were far short of the great leap forward towards which Boulton was aiming.



Fig 4. Obverse and Reverse of Anglesey Halfpenny 1790
where the collar mechanism has failed to operate

But on the second Tuesday in October (the twelfth) Boulton's records show that success was achieved with the use of a one piece collar, which produced coins truly round, and with an edge precisely at right angles to the surface. The trial pieces produced were Anglesey halfpennies, with Dumarest's new Druid, and a standard reverse type but dated 1790. The surviving examples show various aspects of the process, including a unique specimen where the collar mechanism has not operated.

At some point between 25th and 30th October, a box of the new pattern Druids (DH380) was sent to Williams, as on 31st October, his pen dipped in vitriol, Williams replied: *'I am sorry to tell you we sho'd be abused for Issuing a large quantity from this die...it is universally condemned for being not in Character and out of proportion, the face being much too large for the rest of the head which some Critics say is in so small a compass it admits no room for Brains.'*

Much more likely is that the most significant problem with the new-style Druid was that it had been produced by Matthew Boulton.

'In short, the old Druid by Hancock is so far beyond anything since produced nothing else is well rec'd and unless we can adhere to that Style & Character I w'd rather give up the Coinage entirely than continue it otherwise.'

Against opposition of this nature, Boulton could not prevail, and a slightly later pattern shows the Hancock Druid paired with a 1790 reverse. (DH378) It was this combination which was repeated on the circulation issues dated 1791. Dumarest, having produced a magnificent obverse in his own style, was reduced to engraving the oak wreaths around Hancock's Druid.



Fig 5. Obverse and Reverse of Anglesey Halfpenny 1791
The obverse die shows the reversion to Hancock's Druid.

There is, however, one additional feature which makes the 1790 halfpenny so interesting. Boulton had, apparently, experienced problems with some of the earlier Anglesey dies becoming defaced, because of a twist which was imparted to the die as it descended on to the blank. Matthew Boulton had referred, in a letter of 16th July 1790 to James Watt, that the '*...press makes the ground of a better polish & will make a few specimens more beautiful, yet it will take from the beauty of a fine Die more than it will add when Tons are to be struck. Such was the Case in the Anglesey pieces I struck for Wms' [presumably the 1789s] 'and was the Cause of Complaints because the Mat of the head was soon polished off & I am persuaded the beauty of the Engraving will be much better preserved without the twist than with it...*'

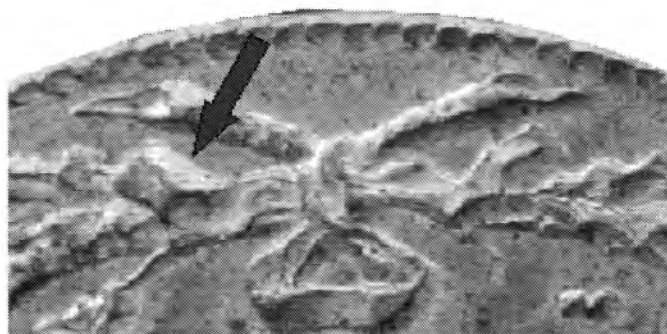


Fig 6. Section of Obverse of DH380, Dumarest's Druid,
showing the effect of the twist given by the press

At least one of the surviving examples clearly shows on the obverse, in what may be an

extreme example, how the metal has dragged on one side, indicating that the die was twisting about its axis as the coin was struck. Other examples show little or no twist. Boulton goes on to describe '*..if a very small twist is wanted it may be given to the round Bolt..*' Examples of the 1789 coinages can be found with traces of twist, but it seems as though this process was abandoned after the 1790 experiments

So, 1790 was a time of both success and frustration for Boulton as far as the Anglesey coinage was concerned. A small part of the frustration was mitigated the following year, when the second of Dumarest's Druid dies, referred to earlier, was used as the obverse for the Cornish Metal Company halfpennies produced for Boulton's associate John Vivian.



Fig 7. Obverse and Reverse of Cornish Halfpenny 1791 showing the second of Dumarest's Druids

But while Williams' rejection of Dumarest's Druid is a matter of historical record, the fairness, reason, or good taste of the matter is for the reader to decide. Personally, I think that Dumarest's obverse has far greater presence and that Williams allowed personal animus to cloud his judgement. Put a Dumarest Druid among a group of Hancock Druids and it towers above them.

My thanks go to Bill McKivor of the Copper Corner, Seattle, for permission to use the illustration of Fig 4 which is a coin formerly in the collection of Dr Richard Doty, and the illustration of Fig 7.

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EDITOR' NOTE: Chris Leather has developed a website at www.sohomint.info as a general resource in commemoration of the bicentenary of Boulton's death this year. Visitors, inquiries and contributions to the site are welcome

Anyone with further examples or pedigree details please contact the author

This article is based on a talk given by the author at Token Congress in 2005. It originally appeared in the *Token Corresponding Society Bulletin*, vol. 9 no. 4, September 2008. The first part of the title is a play on words – ‘Paddington Bear’ has been a popular children’s TV stuffed animal character in Britain for over 50 years. Having arrived from Darkest Peru, he was found sitting alone on a suitcase at Paddington Station, London, with a sign saying ‘Please look after this bear. Thank you’. A couple who were there to meet their daughter did just that. Paddington wears a blue duffle coat and a shapeless hat, and loves marmalade.



Fig. 1

Waller's token and recordings of it

The subject of the article is the copper halfpenny token of W. Waller (**fig. 1**). On the obverse is the bust of a man wearing a coat, with the legend PUDINGTON HALFPENNY PAY^E AT THE HOUSE OF W WALLER. On the reverse is a three-masted sailing ship and the legend KING AND CONSTITUTION, with BRITANNIA 1797 in the exergue. The edge is plain. All known examples were struck without a collar.

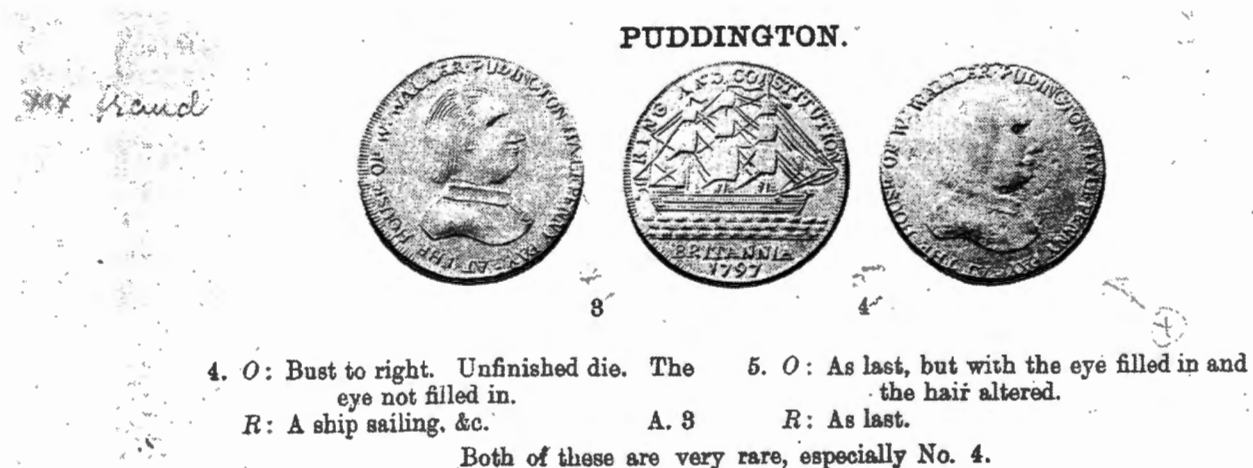


Fig.2

Fig. 2 shows part of page 1 of Dalton and Hamer's *Provincial Token-Coinage of the 18th Century*¹ (hereafter D&H), on which the two varieties of the token are recorded under Puddington, Bedfordshire. Examination of the illustrations of the two obverses confirms that they are indeed from the same die. That on the right is the finished version: the eye is filled in and the hair more neatly and realistically depicted. (The actual token used for the illustration seems to have suffered corrosion or damage). The Dalton and Hamer authorship was the first to identify the two states of the obverse die and the first to publish an illustration of either. The

image of the page is from Robert Bell's own copy of D&H, in which he has corrected the illustration numbers - 3 to 4, 4 to 5. Notice that Bell has also written 'fraud' on the left - I shall come back to this point when I discuss the token further towards the end of the article.

I purchased an example of the Waller halfpenny from Simon Monks in May 2003. As I settled up with him for it, he voiced the opinion that because of the ship device it might not be from Bedfordshire but could perhaps belong to Devon, because the Puddington there is nearer the coast. Some time afterwards this thought began to intrigue me, and I began research that became something of an obsession.

In 1968 Bell² asserted that it was Atkins who had first described this token, in 1892.³ But I found it in Batty, as halfpenny-sized item no. 4591 in a long section of his catalogue headed 'Issuer or Society not known' that was published in 1878.⁴ Beneath the entry Batty added the following note: 'The author, after repeated inquiries, has not been able to fix the locality of PUDINGTON, and is inclined to believe, from its great scarcity, that it has never been struck for circulation, or if so, probably withdrawn on account of a blunder in the spelling of the Legend. The Author thinks it may possibly have been intended for PADDINGTON.' The re-engraving of the portrait on the obverse die, as illustrated by D&H, would seem to preclude Batty's suggestion that the token was withdrawn due to an error in the spelling of the place-name, as that remained unchanged on the finished die.

The token is not in any of the three contemporary works in which it might be expected. Its absence from Denton and Prattent,⁵ the last part of which has 1797 as the date of publication, is not surprising, however. It is not necessarily significant that is missing from Charles Pye's work of 1801 either.⁶ Pye may have rejected it believing it to have been 'made for sale, or fraudulent circulation' (as stated in the Advertisement at the commencement of his work), such pieces being deliberately omitted; though more likely he did not know of it. It is more odd that it is absent from James Conder's catalogue; it is in neither the original edition of 1798 nor the extremely rare last one, with further pages of appendix, published in or soon after 1804 (yet still dated 1798 on the title page).⁷

Sarah Banks, who avidly collected tokens issued at this period, did not have an example of Waller's halfpenny;⁸ nor was there one in the comprehensive collection of Sir George Chetwynd when Thomas Sharp compiled his catalogue of it in 1834.⁹ However, thanks to an annotation in Spink & Son Ltd's own copy of Sharp, I learned that Chetwynd did acquire a specimen in 1846. It came from the collection of the Rev. Francis Blick, vicar of Tamworth, who had issued a private halfpenny token in 1799 showing Tamworth Church and Castle (D&H Staffs. 23). Blick died in 1842, aged 87, and his extensive collection of coins, tokens and medals was sold at Sotheby's 28 June-1 July and 3 July 1843. The mention in the sale catalogue of 'Waller's Puddington Halfpenny (unfinished proof)' among other tokens in lot 146 is the earliest printed reference to it that I have come across. But for some reason Chetwynd's example is not identified in the auction catalogue of his famous collection of coins, tokens and medals sold at Christie's 30 July-2 August 1872. Richard Samuel, writing several years after Batty had first recorded it, was apparently unaware of it.¹⁰

The annotation of Waller's token in the Spink copy of Sharp's catalogue is headed 'Bedfordshire !' This attribution, made without support, was by the numismatist and antiquary Benjamin Nightingale. In 1850 Nightingale undertook to arrange and catalogue the Chetwynd collection of coins, tokens etc. after the death of Sir George in that year. Perhaps Atkins knew of this recording, because in his 1892 work he also listed Puddington under Bedfordshire, as have subsequent writers.

| |
|--|
| <p>PUDDINGTON with HINWICK, a parish in Willey hund., union of Wellingborough, Bedfordshire; 12 miles north of Bedford. Living, a discharged vicarage in dño. of Ely; rated at £7 6s. 8d., returned at £95; gross income £89. Tithes commuted in 1765. Patron, R. Orlebar, Esq. Acres 2,770. Houses 91. A. P. £2,090. Pop., in 1801, 415; in 1831, 563. Poor rates, in 1838, £280 10s.</p> <p>PUDDINGTON, a township in Burton parish, Cheshire. Tithes commuted in 1839. Here is a daily school. Acres 1,300. Houses 28. A. P. £2,051. Pop., in 1801, 139; in 1831, 145. Poor rates, in 1838, £49.</p> <p>PUDDINGTON, a parish in Witheridge hund., union of Crediton, Devon; 6½ miles north of Crediton. Living, a rectory in archd. of Barnstaple, dio. of Exeter; rated at £6 8s. 1½d., returned at £100; gross income £136. Patron, C. Welman, Esq. Here is a daily school. Poor rates, £75 5s. Acres 1,700. Houses 35. A. P. £876. Pop., in 1801, 135; in 1831, 184.</p> |
|--|

Fig.3

Maybe Nightingale or Atkins had referred to *The Parliamentary Gazetteer of England and Wales*, published in 1843: part of page 562 is illustrated (fig. 3). It can be seen that there are in fact three Puddingtons in England: perhaps Bedfordshire was selected as the county of issue of Waller's token simply because of its relatively large 1801 population.

Puddington - where?

Ignoring Robert Bell's negative view of the token, I set about investigating the respective merits of all the potential places of issue and finding a credible issuer. Unfortunately, as far as I am aware, there is no contemporary directory listing the trades or occupations of the inhabitants of any of the possible locations.

Firstly, Bedfordshire. Podington, as it is spelt today, is at the north-western tip of the county. With the exception of James Waller of Woollaston, Northamptonshire, who married Mary Bailey of Podington, Bedfordshire, in 1784, the surname Waller occurs neither in the general parish registers between 1602 and 1812, nor in the register of burials there between 1813 and 1850.¹¹ I did not trouble to look any further for Bedfordshire after Gary Oddie informed me that neither he nor long-time county researcher John Gaunt had found any evidence for attribution there.

Secondly, Puddington in Cheshire, about 8 miles north-west of Chester. I contacted Cheshire County Council's Record Office, where a search was made of available sources for the period 1750 to 1850, viz. the parish registers for Burton, which includes the township of Puddington; for Shotwick, which borders it; and local land tax assessments and wills. The surname Waller does not appear once.

Thirdly, Paddington in Middlesex, or Greater London as it is now. Batty having raised the possibility of this being the issuing location, I checked records on microfilm at the London Metropolitan Archives. I found no baptisms of anyone with the surname Waller for the period 1750-1825 except for two possibilities where the surname was not clear on the film. It could be Waller but alternatively Walter or perhaps Walker; the baptisms were in 1817 and 1820, but in neither case was the father's name William. I shirked searching lists of burials in Paddington from 1797 onwards, as throughout much of the first half of the nineteenth century not only local people were interred here but residents of other parishes in the City of Westminster and of City

of London parishes also. Dozens were buried each month. By this time I knew that the remaining possibility, Puddington in Devon, was looking promising, and in view of the evidence presented below I trust that the reader will agree that I would have wasted my time looking through all these Paddington burials.

Lastly, Puddington in Devon. In *Puddington Burials, 1740-1812* (published by the Devon Family History Society in 2000), I found that a William Waller was buried at the parish church there on 12 June 1797. This sounded hopeful, 1797 being the date on the token, so I contacted the DFHS, asking if further information on him or other members of the Waller family with a forename beginning with W was available in any of its other publications. I was told of some possible sources and provided with a list of researchers whose services I could use. I selected Mary Mayers, who on my behalf has made good use of records kept at the Devon Record Office and at the Westcountry Studies Library in Exeter. Most of the information relating to Devon that follows is thanks either to her or, more especially, to David Waller of Tiverton, an expert on the history of the family. I heard of him through an extraordinary piece of luck, on which more later.

William Waller: his life and work

[For the benefit of *CTCJ* readers, a rough map of places in south-western England that are mentioned in this article is provided – see **fig. 13**].

The William Waller who died in 1797 was found to be a seven-month-old child, so clearly he could not have been the token issuer. But two other Wallers with a forename beginning with W - both William - had been baptized at Puddington, Devon, earlier in the eighteenth century, the first of them in 1749. This William Waller married Elizabeth Hodge at Tiverton, a market-town about eight miles east of Puddington, in 1775. His children were baptized there between 1776 and 1789, his daughter Elizabeth was married there in 1809, and he died there in 1827. His will informs us that he was a blacksmith, and that all his property was in Tiverton. Unfortunately he does not appear in the *Universal British Directory*, published at intervals in the 1790s, either at Tiverton (the section including it having been completed in 1796 or 1797), or at Bampton, Chulmleigh, Crediton, Cullompton or South Molton - all market-towns within a twenty-mile radius. A listing at one of these towns would at least have proved that he was not at Puddington at that time. He is also absent from *Holden's Triennial Directory* published in 1805, and from *Holden's Annual London and Country Directory* of 1811. However, a blacksmith who was 48 in 1797 and apparently remained one for the rest of his life does not seem to be an obvious issuer of tokens, especially one with a ship on it.

An infinitely more likely candidate is the second of the eighteenth-century William Wallers from Puddington, Devon, who was baptized there on 19 October 1769. He was the eldest son of John and Elizabeth Waller; his father was a yeoman, the lessee or tenant of several properties in Puddington. This William was the nephew of the Tiverton blacksmith William.

The first records we have of him after his baptism are in 1799 (nothing before, unfortunately, in view of the date on the token).

On 18 September 1799, a month before his 30th birthday, he married Mary Thorne at the north Devon village of Goodleigh, about 25 miles north-west of Puddington and about three miles away from the port of Barnstaple. According to Burke¹² (which gives the date of the marriage incorrectly as 1804) her father was John Thorne of Buckland; recent research cannot confirm this. A John Thorn of West Buckland had five children baptized in the period 1773-82 yet Mary

was not one of them; but a Richard Thorne of Goodleigh had a daughter Mary baptized on 8 May 1775, and this fits with the death of Mary Waller in 1847, reportedly aged 72 (see below).

In the marriage register William Waller is described as an ironmonger of the parish of Puddington. Land Tax records for Puddington reveal that a William Waller - almost certainly the same person, David Waller believes - paid tax on a house and shop that he rented during 1799 and 1800 from Thomas Welman, the local major landowner. The business at the 'shop' was not indicated but could have been that of the family trade of blacksmith. The house at which the token declared itself payable could have been sub-rented to William by his father and may well have been that which William rented directly in 1799-1800.

I had wondered if the reason for the ship on the reverse of the halfpenny might be that there was an inn of that name there. No public house exists at Puddington and there is no mention of any in *Gleanings from the History of Puddington* by Eileen Voce (2nd edition, Tiverton, 1981), let alone one called The Ship, or something akin. So why have a ship as the device for a token payable at a village at least 15 miles away from water deep enough for one to sail in? A persuasive answer can be found at the nearest port - Exeter.

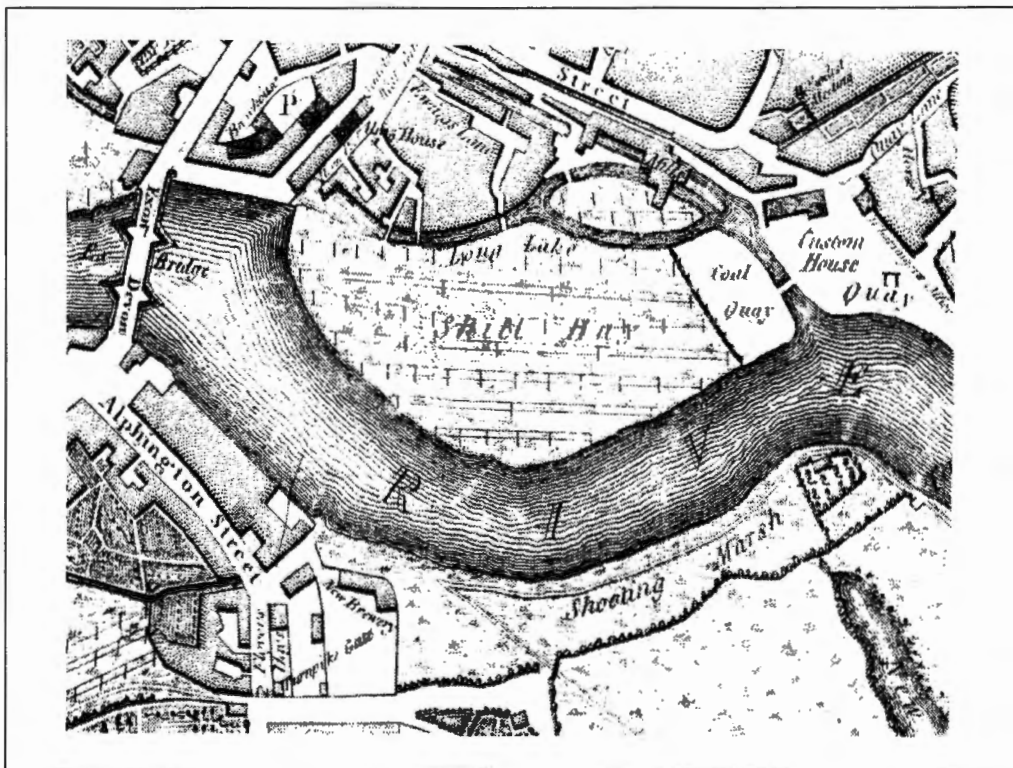


Fig.4

On 13 July 1799, a couple of months before his marriage, Waller had obtained the lease of a dwelling-house, courtyard and outbuildings at Quay Gate, Exeter, just within the old Roman city wall and a few hundred yards from the river Exe. The premises were 'in Length from East to West Seventy Feet or thereabout and in Breadth from North to South Twenty five Foot or thereabout'.¹³ Also named in the lease was one James Gill, then about 16 (Waller's apprentice?). Waller made iron and steel there, as will be shown later. **Fig. 4** illustrates a magnified section of Charles Tozer's *Plan of the City & Suburbs of Exeter* published in 1792, showing the position of the property, which was west of the 'Methodist Meeting' house (this wording not very clear on the illustration) and north of the Custom House.



Fig.5

Fig. 5 shows an interesting advertisement that appeared in the *Exeter Flying Post*. The sloop was, no doubt, named after his wife; Exeter to Bristol is a sea voyage of over 300 miles. Waller had not wasted much time - his boat had been registered at Exeter on 17 January 1801, just four days before the date on the advert. He was clearly looking to marine transport as an extension to his business interests. A search by David Waller of the Devon Shipping Register from 1793 to 1813 revealed that the *Mary* had been built for William in 1800 at Topsham, a couple of miles down river from Exeter. It had one deck, a square stern, was 48'7" long and a maximum of 15'6" wide, and its hold had a depth of 8'5"; the carrying capacity was almost 48 tons. It was Waller's second sloop. His first, the *Friends Endeavour*, had been built in 1785 and registered to him at Exeter in July 1800, with Richard Rice as master. It was a little wider but shorter than the *Mary*, with only a little over 27½ tons burthen. According to the record it was 'wrecked at Appledore [on the north coast of Devon; Barnstaple is 8 miles to the east on the river Taw] in 1801'. **Fig. 6** is from a print showing a view of Exeter Quay, circa 1840, courtesy of David Waller. An arrow from the right points to the position at which William's workshop was. At the quayside is a sloop perhaps like Waller's of 40 years earlier; to the left of its mast is the imposing Custom House building of 1681 which still stands today



Exeter Quay c. 1840

Fig.6

The Wallers' first child, Eliza, was baptized on 22 September 1801 but was buried 15 days later. Their second child, another daughter, Harriet, was baptized on 18 November 1802. Both baptisms took place at St Mary Major church, Exeter.

In the spring of 1803 Waller sold the *Mary*, perhaps to help finance his acquisition in September of that year of the lease of the mill at Ashton, which is on the river Teign seven miles south-west of Exeter, again for the purpose of iron and steel manufacture. He would now apparently be overseeing or running two separate iron- and steel-making enterprises, with the grinding of corn as a sideline at Ashton.

In a further extension of his 'empire', about the year 1804 he became a landowner, apparently for the first time, acquiring Cradle Farm in the village of Cruwys Morchard, three miles east of Puddington. He purchased this estate from his father John.

In June 1804 Waller repurchased the *Mary*. The following November it was re-registered again, this time to Waller and two other men, one of whom was a mariner from Lymington in Hampshire, a coastal town about 100 miles to the east of Exeter. After this the record is somewhat confusing, a lightly written note 'Lost at Brighton 1805' apparently cancelled by the more definite 'SOLD to ___ White of Brighton in the port of Shoreham about the 1st January 1805 as appears [?] Certificate from William Waller dated 1st October 1806' (Brighton is a further 70 miles or so east of Lymington). A specimen of Waller's token sold in 2005 had the provenance '. . . found in a junk box in Poole, Dorset, 1986': is it too fanciful to suggest that it might have arrived there in the pocket of William Waller himself (Waller must at least have known of the harbour)? The oral tradition in the family, as related to David Waller by an aunt of his about 25 years ago, was that William had a great deal of money tied up in a ship's cargo that sank, his loss being so great that he had to prevail upon his father or brother to refinance his business. This family story gains credence from what we now know from documentation, though it is not clear whether it arose from the wrecking of the *Friends Endeavour* in 1801 or a mishap with the *Mary* in 1805.

On 4 July 1805 William and Mary's first son, William, was baptized at St Mary Major, Exeter; he was baptized a second time at Puddington on 6 October the same year.

During 1806 William Waller evidently hit really hard times. In the *Exeter Flying Post* for 25 December of that year it was announced that a commission of bankruptcy had been issued against him the previous week. He was described as 'late of the city of Exeter, ironmonger, steel-maker, dealer and chapman'; in his advertisement of nearly six years earlier he is simply 'bar ironmonger'. He was required to present himself on three days in January and February 1807 at the Star Inn, Exeter, when his proven creditors were to choose assignees and decide whether or not to allow him a certificate of bankruptcy. In a notice of 20 January 1807 (**fig. 7**) his assignees announce the sale by auction of his premises adjoining Quay Gate, the lease on which he had acquired in 1799. The 38-year-old was Waller (actually he was still 37), the 24-year-old James Gill. Note the 'brick furnace in the warehouse, for the purpose of making steel'.

From these two notices we learn that the Quay Gate property was 'late in the occupation of . . . William Waller' and that Waller himself was 'late of the city of Exeter'. Could he have been at his farm in Cruwys Morchard? Still a bankrupt in 1808, he was forced to give up his premises at Ashton. **Fig. 8** illustrates the *Exeter Flying Post* notice by order of his assignees of the forthcoming auction in June 1808 of his leasehold property there. The property and the facilities

sound impressive but Waller's expenditure of over £2,500 seems to have been more than he could sensibly afford.

By order of the Assignees of WILLIAM WALLER, a Bankrupt.

TO be SOLD by public auction, all that LEASEHOLD TENEMENT or DWELLING-HOUSE, and warehouse or work-shop behind the same, situate on the east side of and adjoining Quay-gate, in the city of Exeter; late in the occupation of the said William Waller; held under the chamber of Exeter, for two terms of 99 years, one of them determinable on the death of a life aged 60 years, and the other (commencing on the determination of the former) determinable on the deaths of two lives, aged 24, and 38; subject to the yearly rent of 19s. 6d.

There is a brick furnace in the warehouse, for the purpose of making steel, which renders the premises a desirable object for a steel-maker.

For sale whereof, an auction will be held at the Star Inn, in the city of Exeter aforesaid, on Saturday the 31st day of January instant, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

For viewing the premises, application to be made at the house; and for further particulars, to Mr. Mortimer, solicitor, Exeter.

Dated 20th Jan. 1807.

Fig.7

ASHTON MILLS, DEVON!

TO be SOLD, by order of the assignees of William Waller, a bankrupt, for the residue of a term of 21 years, commencing on the 29th day of September, 1803, subject to the clear yearly rent of 35l. and to the covenants of the lessee, contained in the indenture of lease, all those Mills, called ASHTON MILLS, situate within the parish and manor of Ashton, in the county of Devon, lately built at the expence of upwards of 2500l.; consisting of an iron mill, worked by a water-wheel 12 feet in diameter; with a balling furnace, two tilt hammers, one for making iron, the other steel; a blast for making iron, with two single bellows, and two smith's bellows, all driven by a water wheel; and every other requisite for carrying on the business of iron making.

Also, a DWELLING-HOUSE, with a CRIST MILL, comprising two pair of mill stones, and with about 5 acres of garden and meadow land.

The purchaser may have immediate possession of the iron mill; but the dwelling-house and grist mill, with about an acre and half of land, are let for two years, from Michaelmas next, at the rent of 20l. per annum.

The premises, which are well supplied with water, having the advantage of the whole stream of the river Teign, are situated about 7 miles from Exeter, and 4 from Chudleigh.

For which purpose an auction will be held at the Star Inn, in the city of Exeter, on Saturday the 4th day of June next, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

For viewing the premises, application to be made to the tenant of the grist mills; and for further particulars, to Mr. Poyning, auctioneer; or Mr. Mortimer, solicitor to the assignees, Exeter.

Dated 14th May, 1809.

Fig.8

Where he was living after this is also unclear but, puzzlingly, despite the order for his premises at Quay Gate to be sold early in 1807, he is still listed as 'Waller Wm. ironmonger Quay-gate' in directories of 1811 and 1816.

William and Mary's second son, John, was born sometime in the period 1807-10 (see below).

In or by 1812 the ownership of Cradle Farm had reverted to William's father, suggesting that William was in need of money.

A sad event in November 1815 was the death of William's eldest son William, aged just 10. He was buried at St Mary Major.

A considerable improvement in the Wallers' fortunes is apparent, however, from an *Exeter Flying Post* notice of 12 May 1817 (fig. 9). It shows again that William was not a man to let the grass grow under his feet. It announces the (unforced) sale by auction of the lease of 'all those extensive and well-known premises, situate near Cricklepit Mills' etc., and Waller himself was 'on the premises'. He had clearly successfully re-established his business in Exeter. (The word circled in the illustration is presumably 'instant'). Cricklepit Mills themselves can be identified on Tozer's map (fig. 4) by the word 'Mills' to the west of the Custom House. Exactly where Waller's forge and water-wheel were is unclear, though they would presumably have been somewhere just north of the Shill Hay rack fields, no more than a few hundred yards from his warehouse and shop high above at Quay Gate.

EXETER.

TO be SOLD by Auction, at the Old London Inn, on Monday the 28th day of May (instant) at four o'clock in the afternoon, all those late site and well-known PREMISES, situate near Cricklepath Hill, in the parish of St. Mary Steps, now in the possession of William Waller, (held under Lease of the Chamber of Exeter, for an absolute Term of Ninety-nine Years, near Twenty Years of which are yet unexpired,) together with the MACHINERY therein, consisting of an Iron Forge, a large Water Wheel, working two Hammers, two Bel-lows, and two Grinding Stones, with Coke Oven and Smith's Shop adjoining; also the Stream of Water driving the said Wheel, together with a small Plot of Ground, and a Garden near the said Premises.

For viewing the same, apply to Mr. William Waller, on the Premises; and for further particulars, to Mr. Gattey, solicitor, Exeter.

Dated 12th May, 1817.

Fig.9

Waller was selling up in 1817, but whither was he bound? David Waller knew the answer, of course, but it can be found in print in *Burke's Landed Gentry* under the entry 'Waller of Pen Park'.¹² Our William is in the lineage, where he is stated to be 'of Puddington, Cruwys Morchard, Exeter and Bristol'. So - William Waller was planning to make it big in Bristol.

In *Mathews's Annual Bristol Directory* for 1821 is the entry 'Waller Wm. Steel converter, and Founder, Mill Lane, Bedminster' (Bedminster is to the south of Bristol city centre). There is no entry for him in the 1818 edition of the same directory; I have not seen a copy of those for 1819 and 1820. By 1834 he was describing himself as 'Steel converter & Cast steel Refiner', and in the 1836 edition (1835 not seen) he was 'Steel Converter & refiner' at 'Eagle street - works, near the Armory [sic], Stapleton road' (on the north-east side of the city). A similar entry occurs for 1840 (1841-44 editions not seen).

Meanwhile, back in Puddington, John Waller, William's father, had died in 1829 aged 81. His will is noteworthy in that it makes no reference at all to eldest son William, grandson John and granddaughter Harriet, though his other sons John and James and their children were beneficiaries. David Waller feels that William's father, having probably been the provider of financial aid in the past, found it unnecessary to remember William in his will, the latter by now being a successful businessman far from home. Nevertheless, I cannot help wondering whether John was somewhat apathetic to his eldest son and his offspring. John had been the Puddington Churchwarden in 1786-90 and 1802 (Burke¹²), whereas William was a dissenter. And perhaps a by now wealthy William did not express his gratitude to the generosity that had been shown him twenty or so years before: but this is pure speculation on my part. At any rate, William resumed ownership of Cradle Farm at Cruwys Morchard after his father's death, presumably having to purchase it from his estate.

In 1837 William was one of thirteen men who, acting as trustees, purchased a 'building formerly used as a chapel or meeting house, . . . and also a plot of ground at the back, 34ft. x 41ft.10ins.; all being parcel of a messuage called Pitt [part of Puddington Manor] . . . All these premises conveyed, on trust for the building to be converted into a house for the meeting of Protestant Dissenters of the Independent denomination for worship; and for the linhay to be converted into a vestry and stable; and for the plot of ground to be fenced in as a burying ground.' William Waller is described as 'late of Puddington, but now of Bristol, steel merchant'; the other twelve (of whom no less than four were Wallers) were local gentlemen or yeomen.¹⁴ He clearly wished to retain a tangible link with his native village.

William Waller died at Bedminster in the third quarter of 1842.¹⁵ His will, in which he is described simply as 'gentleman', is dated 9th December 1842 and was proved on 7th January 1843, so his death must have occurred sometime during the last three weeks of 1842. He was 73. To his son John he left his 'freehold estate in the parish of Cruwys Morchard in the County of Devon', his 'freehold messuage or dwellinghouse manufactory buildings land and hereditaments with the steam engine affixed thereto situate at Upper Easton in the out parish of Saint Philip and Jacob in the City and County of Bristol now in the possession of my said son and his sister [Harriet Waller] trading under the firm of Waller and Company', and £1,500. To two nephews from Cruwys Morchard he bequeathed £1,500 in trust, together with his home at 19 Somerset Square, Bedminster, with the proviso that Mary his 'dear wife' could continue to live there or have the benefit of renting it out while she remained alive. Harriet was also provided for. The furniture and effects in the family home were to be Mary's, along with the residue of the estate.

Mary seems to have been involved in the business in some way. In a note sent to David Waller in 1983, the late Major Patrick Waller, great-great-great grandson of William, stated that he had a set of engineers' drawing instruments with her name on, and that she 'must have been unusual. She is recorded as "dying at the Eagle Steel Works" aged 72'. According to Burke¹² her death occurred in 1847, and in probable confirmation of this a Mary Waller of Clifton is recorded as having died in the second quarter of that year.¹⁵

In 1848 William's son John married for the first time, and was wealthy enough in that year to acquire Pen Park, the seat 1¾ miles from Westbury-on-Trym, on the outskirts of Bristol, whence the heading for the family entry in Burke.¹² It was an eventful time for the younger Wallers: John's sister Harriet, then about 45, also got married in 1848.

John continued the business after his father's death. In the 1851 Census he is listed as a steel refiner, and in *Mathews's Annual Bristol and Clifton Directory* for 1852 we find 'Waller & Co., steel converters and refiners, Eagle Steel Works, near the Armoury, Stapleton road'. The date and place of John's birth and baptism remain a mystery. According to Burke¹² John was born in 1808, but Census returns suggest other possibilities. According to the 1851 Census, taken on 30 March, he was aged 43; in that of 1861, taken on 7-8 April, he was aged 52, a 'merchant and farmer'; in that of 1881, taken on 3 April, he was 71, a 'landowner'. Thus he could have been born anytime in the period from 31 March 1807 to 3 April 1810. Confusingly, his birthplace is given as Exeter in the 1851 and 1861 Censuses, but Bristol in 1881. I could not find him in the Censuses of 1841, 1851 or 1871, so I am grateful to David Waller for the details from 1851. John Waller died in 1888. Despite much searching, his baptism has not been found in parish records of 1807-10 for Exeter, Bristol or any of the other Devon locations with known connections for his parents. This is unfortunate, as the information would be a strong indication, if not confirmation, as to where William was based at the time. One wonders if John was a natural or adopted son.

Pen Park was to remain in the family until the 1960s; after two serious fires it was finally demolished in 1969.

Some profitable groundwork

In July 2005 my wife and I took a long weekend break in Devon, partly in order to visit some locations with Waller connections. We were based in Exeter, and began there.

I could find no evidence of the remains of any buildings at the spot where Waller's Quay Gate premises were. No obvious trace either is left of property that was his 'near Cricklepit Mills', i.e.

at river level, though the area was inaccessible at the time of our visit. Cricklepit Mill itself is being restored; **figs. 10a** and **10b** show it as it was in July 2005. Note the water-wheel, the top of which is visible behind the trees. The site of the Quay Gate house and shop was about a hundred yards behind me as I took the photograph from the city wall (showing part of it on the right), giving some indication of the different height levels.

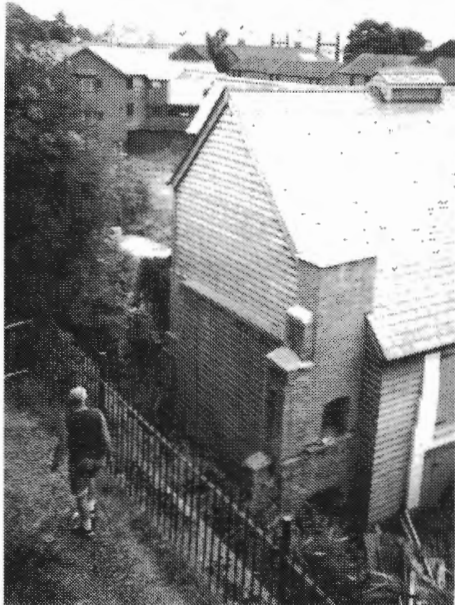


Fig.10a



Fig.10b

My wife and I went to Puddington - a pleasant, quiet village. It can be reached by three roads, but these are all more or less country lanes with passing-places only. We visited the parish church, the tower of which dates back to Norman times. Wandering around the churchyard, we noted that several gravestones bore names of members of the Waller family; the grave of William's parents is immediately to the right of the porch. In a corner we noticed the sole freshly dug grave, with bunches of flowers on it, and to our surprise the cards were to the memory of - a Mrs Waller! We had seen an announcement on entering the village that the local summer fête was on that day - Saturday 16 July. The prospect not only of a welcome cup of tea there but also the possibility of meeting someone from the family were compelling reasons to go to the fête, which was being held in the large garden of the former rectory - a fine old Georgian building. We stirred the old man at the entrance from his doze, paid our 50 pence entrance fees, and asked if a member of the family was present. We were directed to a lady serving teas at the marquee. She was Dorothy Vickery, who told us her grandmother's maiden name was Waller. Better still, she said that her cousin David Waller had been researching the family for many years and gave me contact details for him. David is William Waller's great-great-great-great nephew, and has proved to be a mine of information. Our visit to Puddington at that particular time on fête day was thus a wonderful piece of luck, for without it this article would have been much the poorer. **Fig. 11** shows the author enjoying the last mouthful of a delicious piece of cake at the fête, much to the chagrin of a chicken to his right that missed out on it; Dorothy Vickery is standing at the table holding a teatowel.

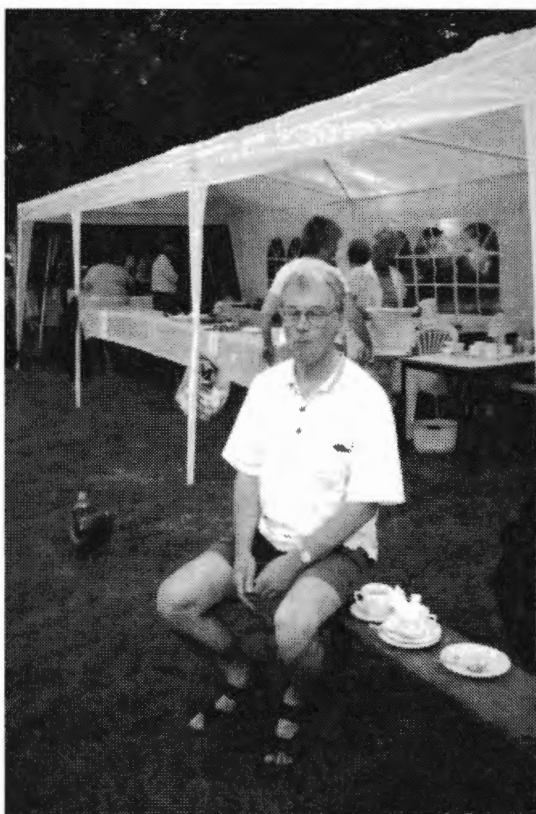


Fig.11



Fig.12

The following day we went to Ashton, hoping to find traces of the Mill. To my delight we found it still in existence as a residence, complete with water-wheel, though this is now static. I wanted to take a photo of the wheel so, throwing caution aside, we rang the doorbell to ask permission. We were lucky again - the current owners were friendly and, considering we were complete strangers, made us welcome. They gave us a quick tour inside to show the ingenious partial restoration of the mill and substantial conversion into a comfortable modern residence. They had accumulated some notes on its history: all the previous owners they knew of up to the 1950s, apart from William Waller, had been corn millers. Permission granted, I illustrate the wheel as it is now (**fig. 12**). In 1808 its diameter was stated to be 12 feet: this seems confirmed by my wife Angela, height 5'3", who obliged me by standing by it, not entirely willingly, for the photo! The separate house, mentioned in the 1808 announcement of the sale of the mill (**fig. 8**), also survives; behind it is a truncated section of the leat or mill-stream, about a hundred yards from the river Teign.

The status of Waller's token

Finally, let us consider the token itself. As we have seen (**fig. 2**), Bell wrote 'fraud' next to the illustration of it in his copy of D&H, and declared 'it was probably of late nineteenth-century manufacture for sale to collectors'.² The latter statement can be ignored because Waller's halfpenny was in existence in 1842. But was it perhaps made for collectors, albeit earlier than this? I do not think so, for two reasons:

- 1) None of the specimens of which I am aware struck using the finished obverse die are close to mint state, let alone lustrous, which is the condition that one would expect.
- 2) If it had been made for collectors in 1797, or perhaps early 1798, specimens would surely have been known about at the time. But its style is nothing like that of those made in the

1790s for the collector market by any of the known London or Birmingham manufacturers. Nor is the style like that of the fantasy tokens that had been produced since then up to 1842: all of these were by W. J. Taylor, viz. the halfpennies naming W. Till and John Peckham of Slough (D&H Buckinghamshire 21-28), and D&H Middlesex 836, using re-engraved dies originally employed for the obverses of Middlesex 831 and 336.

If it was struck contemporaneously, is it a private token? It is certainly rare enough. D&H 4 (with the unfinished obverse) is known from perhaps just two examples; from photographs of specimens of D&H 5 I am certain that I can identify nine different examples.¹⁶ But I believe it is highly unlikely to be a private issue. The representation of the devices is, at best, adequate. The portrait is fairly anonymous - feeble compared with that of the 'iron master' John Wilkinson on his tokens. The sails of the ship are not in the correct perspective and, rather than sailing at sea, the ship itself looks as if it is marooned on cobbles or a stone wall! With its flag bearing a St Andrew-type cross (presumably artistic licence), the ship device resembles that used for the 1794 issues of Jordan of Gosport, Hampshire, a little over 100 miles away eastwards along the coast. Taking into account the word BRITANNIA in the exergue, it is possible that Waller had in mind HMS Britannia, a first rate three-decker battleship with 100 guns, firepower second only to HMS Victory, later Lord Nelson's flagship at the Battle of Trafalgar¹⁷. After the combined fleets of France and Spain invaded the English Channel in August 1780, Admiral Darby and his fleet took up a position in Torbay. Darby's flagship was HMS Britannia, and it would not be stretching belief to suggest that a young and impressionable William Waller witnessed or was told of this, Torbay being only about 20 miles from Exeter. The weight of the token is light - more on this below. If intended to be a private issue, it was a poor effort. And William Waller evidently was unknown in numismatic circles, where the halfpenny would surely have been collected and recorded.

The combination on the token of ship device, issuer's name W. Waller and place of issue Pud[d]ington are in my view compelling reasons to reattribute the halfpenny from Bedfordshire to Devon. And, taking account of the case made in the two previous paragraphs against it being a private issue or struck for collectors, I believe that Waller's intention was to issue his token for use by the public. In 1797, aged 27/28, he was a man with aspirations, doubtless looking eagerly at ways to make a successful living and a name for himself, and it is easy to imagine him seeing the issue of his own lightweight halfpennies in quantity as (literally!) a money-making exercise. He was still two years away from acquiring his first lease - of the Quay Gate premises in Exeter - and three years away from owning his first sloop. With its single mast, rigged fore-and-aft with a mainsail and jib, a sloop was a considerably more modest vessel than the three-masted ship depicted on the token. Waller was indulging perhaps in wishful thinking in having this device for his halfpenny, just as he would have been in contemplating its issue. For him to believe it worthwhile to issue his own halfpennies he must have envisaged their use well beyond the confines of a village like Puddington, which had barely one hundred adult residents. He must have considered Exeter, at least, as fertile ground for their circulation, and would surely have had business connections or other links in the city (and perhaps elsewhere) by 1797. William Waller is not listed at Exeter in the *Universal British Directory*, however, though not surprisingly because the section concerned was completed in 1793; nor is he listed in *The Exeter Pocket Journal* for the year 1796, the latest edition I have so far been able to check previous to his acquisition of the 1799 lease at Quay Gate.

The style of the devices on Waller's halfpenny is unlike that of any other eighteenth-century token, or for that matter early nineteenth-century piece, whether genuine or false. The lettering style is not found on tokens or contemporary medals, as far as I am aware. The letters themselves are from individual punches. It can be seen that they are the same each time - notice

for example the relatively small D (PUDINGTON, AND) and the relatively large U (PUDINGTON, HOUSE, CONSTITUTION). It is reasonable to suppose that the establishment in which the tokens were produced used letter punches for metal products other than coins. My contention is that Waller had them made in the West Country, perhaps in Exeter or Bristol. As an ironmonger he would have had contacts with other manufacturers and retailers of metal products: several traders in this field can be found in the contemporary directories for both cities. As mentioned above, the tokens are of light weight but this varies considerably: seven for which there are details range from 7.15g to 9.03g (averaging approx. 8.1g),¹⁶ a greater difference than one would expect from mass production mints in Birmingham. Compare this with weights ranging from approximately 9.3g to 10.2g for halfpennies struck at Birmingham and issued in 1796-7 at the West Country towns of Plymouth, Falmouth, Crewkerne and Yeovil. The Puddington pieces are closer in weight to regal coinage forgeries, with which Waller must have been familiar.

Lastly, why are the tokens so rare and why did it take so long for them to be recorded? Being struck far away from the known English manufactories of Birmingham and London would explain their unique style and, if their circulation was brief and local, it is conceivable that none came to the immediate notice of token collectors. Their rarity can be explained either by the issue being aborted after relatively few had been struck due to a change of mind by Waller, who had perhaps learned of the forthcoming issue of the regal copper coinage of 1797, or because a large quantity of the tokens was melted down, perhaps by Waller himself after redemption. An intriguing possibility is that the dies themselves may have been fashioned from steel forged by Waller himself.

Conclusion

Simon Monks's hunch that Devon was the county of issue is surely correct. Waller's tokens do appear to me to have been struck with the intention of their being genuine trading pieces and, although nominally payable at a little village, made for use in the wider world. As such they were an early speculative venture of a remarkable Devonian who went on to make his fortune in Bristol but did not forget his roots.

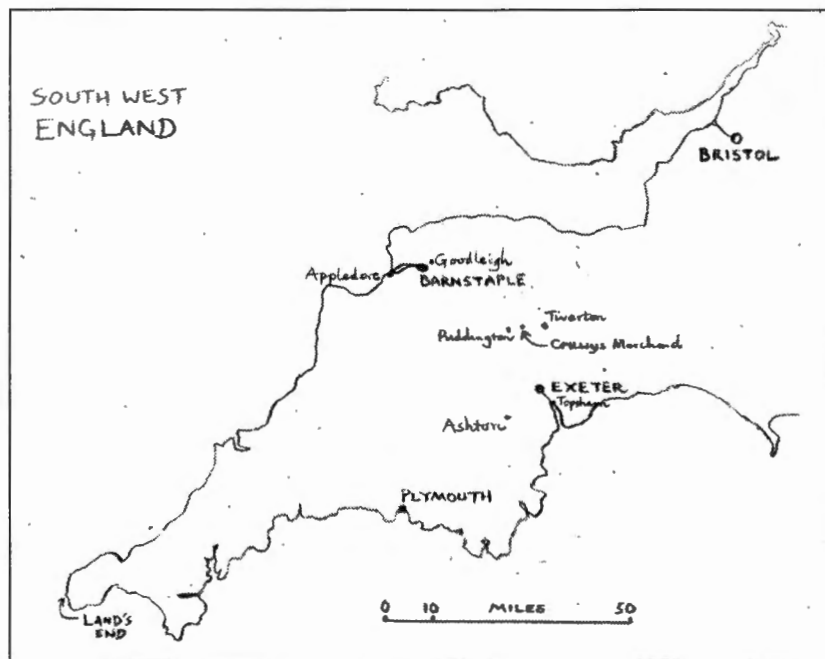


Fig.13

Acknowledgements

David Waller's help was invaluable - he sent me family trees and other details, a chart made up from Land Tax records for Puddington, several photocopies including records in the Devon Shipping Register, maps etc. He also let me have a copy of information on William Waller's family compiled by Major P. J. R. Waller that had been sent to him in 1983.

Gary Oddie spent much time producing the images for the presentation of the talk on which this article is based, with efficiency and good humour.

Robert Thompson let me know of the *Parliamentary Gazetteer* and *Burke* sources.

David Dykes suggested that the ship might be HMS Britannia and reported that the National Maritime Museum has a specimen of the token.

Peter Preston-Morley added information on pedigrees and other details of some of the known specimens.

Barbara Tomlinson, Curator of Antiquities, National Maritime Museum, provided the references regarding HMS Britannia.

Colin Burrow, Charles Farthing, Tom Jewell of the Devon Family History Society, Mary Mayers, Dorothy Vickery and Eileen Voce gave help and encouragement along the way; and of course Simon Monks inadvertently started me off on my research.

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- ⁸ [Sarah Sophia Banks], Ms. Catalogue of Coin Collection, VI - Tokens, and separate papers. In the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals
- ⁹ Thomas Sharp, *A Catalogue of Provincial Copper Coins, Tokens, Tickets, and Medalets issued in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries . . . in the Collection of Sir George Chetwynd . . .* (London, 1834)
- ¹⁰ [R. T. Samuel], a series of articles devoted almost entirely to copper tokens of the British Isles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in 'The Library' section of the Wednesday editions of *The Bazaar, The Exchange and Mart* irregularly between December 1880 and August 1889. Reprinted with a concordance by Harold Welch between numbers assigned by Samuel and those assigned by Dalton and Hamer (Cold Spring, Minnesota, USA, 1994)
- ¹¹ *Parish Registers of Podington 1602-1812* (Bedfordshire Parish Register Series, Vol. 69 (1977)); *Register of Burials 1813 to 1850* (microfiche at the Society of Genealogists, London)

- 12 *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry* (18th edition, ed. Peter Townend, London, 1965-72; 3 vols.), pp. 631-2. The present article adds information to the Waller family entry and makes two corrections to it
- 13 From an abstract of the lease made for me by the Devon Record Office, source D2/372
- 14 From an abstract of the lease at the Devon Record Office, ref. 52/13/18/3
- 15 From records found on the website findmypast.com

16 Known specimens of each token variety

D&H 4:

1. [?] ex Richard Gladdle ex Bagshawe (Glendining's, 3 Nov. 2000), lot 773 but illustrated as 774, ex Cokayne. Apparently the specimen illustrated in D&H, the reverse also in Bell².
2. Noble (Australia, 7-8 July 1998), lot 5, ex Spink & Son Ltd 1987.

D&H 5:

1. National Maritime Museum, item MEC1724, ex Longman (Glendining's, 12 March 1958), lot 2 via Spink (probably acting as agent), ex Sir John Evans. Diameter 29mm, die axis 180°. Wt 7.3g.
2. [?] ex Bill McKivor ex Token Congress 2005 auction ex [?] ex Noble (see above), lot 6, ex Jan (Spink Auction 26, 9 Feb. 1983), lot 5. Wt 9.03g.
3. My own example, ex *S&B's Coin & Medal Bulletin* No. 72 (May/June 2003), T168, ex Gerson (Spink Auction 53, 19 June 1986), lot 2, ex Patrick Deane ex Spink Auction 35, 11 April 1984, lot 317. Diameter approximately 28.5mm, die axis 180°. Wt 7.15g. Fig. 1 in this article.
4. [?] ex Richard Gladdle ex Bagshawe (see above), lot 774 but illustrated as 773, ex Cokayne.
5. Dix Noonan Webb, Auction 65, 16 March 2005, lot 1508, ex [?] ex Baldwin's Auction 38, 4 Oct. 2004, part of lot 840, where incorrectly described as D&H 4. Die axis 180°. Wt 8.36g.
6. Ditto, Auction 68A, 15 Dec. 2005, lot 1988, ex [?] ex Dix Noonan Webb, Auction 62, 30 June 2004, lot 1295, ex its finder in a junk box in Poole, Dorset, 1986. Die axis 180°. Wt 8.45g.
7. [?] ex Spink ex Davis (Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 11-15 March 1901), pl. i.3, part of lot 1 – the obverse illustrated in D&H and Bell².
8. [?] ex Bill McKivor ex Spink Auction 192, 24 Jan. 2008, lot 24. Die axis 180°. Wt 8.90g.
9. Seen at A.H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd., June 2008, perhaps ex Hamer (see below). Die axis 180°. Wt 7.32g.

Hamer had a specimen (Glendining's, 26-28 Nov. 1930, lot 27, part); so did Lincoln (Glendining's, 12-13 Feb. 1936, lot 178, part), although this could in theory have been D&H 4; and so did Waite Sanderson (Glendining's, 16-17 Nov. 1944, lot 5, part). At least two of these three are different (the Sanderson specimen could have been from Hamer), but it is not known if any of them are identical with those identified above. No example of Waller's token was in the collections of Lawrence (1900), Farnell (1981), Bell (1996), Anderson (2000), Spingarn (2001), Spence (2004) or Litrenta (2005).

No illustrated example has been offered for sale in Spink's *Numismatic Circular* or Seaby's *Coin & Medal Bulletin* nor, as far as I am aware, has any unillustrated example from the time that illustration of secondhand numismatic material in these periodicals began (mid-1950s in the case of *SCMB*, mid-1960s for *NCirc*).

The British Museum does not have a specimen, nor does Bedford Museum.

- 17 Colonel Robert Holden Mackenzie, *The Trafalgar Roll: the Ships and the Officers* (London, 1913), pp. 36-7; David Lyon, *The Sailing Navy List* (London, 1993), p. 62

Dates now set for the first British-American Token Congress
Seattle, WA May 14, 15 16 2009.

The British token Congress has long been a destination for many British token collectors. Held every year in different locations in the UK it is a collector-driven venue with talks, food, fun, a bourse, and more. Probably the best feature is meeting many serious fellow collectors, like minded folk who become friends for life.

Though the Conder Token Collector's Club has been in existence for 10 years, no Congress has been undertaken in America until now, and we are happy to announce that there will be one in Seattle, May 14, 15, and 16, 2009. It shall be at the Red Lion Hotel, 1415 5th Ave, downtown Seattle.

The Congress will be based on the British model, an opening and a dinner on Thursday, 14 May, followed by a program to be determined, and a chance to get to know your fellow attendees. Though substantially British in scope this time around, it is wished to get token enthusiasts from all over the US and Canada as well as some from the UK to come and show and discuss tokens of all kinds.

Friday will be a full day of talks and token lore, three meals and breaks, followed by a Friday night bourse which is open to all attendees. Tables for dealers and collectors are included in the cost of the Congress. Saturday will start with breakfast, and the talks with one break runs until 1 PM, the end of the meeting.

Seattle is a wonderful place for a vacation or a holiday, as they are known in the UK, and there will be packets sent out to the attendees who sign up to give them some idea of the city, waterfront, restaurants, boat trips, Victoria and Vancouver getaways, shopping, and much more. A spouse or significant other would not be bored, with the hotel within walking distance to nearly everything and the weather is usually mild in May.

Here are the details needed to sign up----

Dates: Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, May 14, 15, 16, in 2009.

Location----The Red Lion Hotel, 1415 5th Ave, Seattle, WA.

Cost: The Congress, all talks, 5 meals, the bourse, and more \$395 for the event.

Rooms will be a separate cost and will be arranged directly with the hotel.

The limit is 100 people, and remarkably the Congress is already half full with only word of mouth and CTCC Journal advertising, so please, if interested, let us know as soon as you can. We shall be reserving space in order of reservation received. If you wish to come but are not sure this far in advance you can do so, call anyway and we will put you on the list for information. A deposit will be required by fall 2008.

Many well known collectors, authors, dealers, museum curators, etc have already signed on, and we would love to see you as well.

The Congress is supported by the Pacific Northwest Numismatic Association, the Conder Token Collector's Club, and sponsored by the London auction house Dix Noonan and Webb.

For further information and costs, please contact the Congress organizer, Bill McKivor, at copperman@thecoppercorner.com or his phone (206) 244-8345, or Scott Loos, scottloos@msn.com or his phone (425) 831-8789.

Who knows, this may be the start of something big-----

Bill McKivor, Event Chairman.

MIDDLESEX 309

(A call for help)

by: John Fisher

With regard to Middlesex 309, Dalton & Hamer, Bell and Samuel all agree that 24 specimens were issued in copper and 10 in silver. John Milton, the die engraver and manufacturer presented a bill for almost £30 to David Alves Rebello for this quantity of tokens. The token was issued in 1795 and Rebello died on May 24, 1796. His collection was willed to his son.

Recently, I had an opportunity to acquire my 2nd Mdx 309 from a seller on eBay. The token was listed as in VF condition and on receipt, I would confirm this assessment. The token has obvious wear especially on the obverse and a few knocks or nicks on the edge. Did this token, while exceedingly rare, somehow pass into general circulation for a while or was it a 'pocket piece' for a time? I then realized that I have been seeing sale listings from dealers and auction houses for this token also, far in excess of what the supply should be for such a rare token.

Perhaps the mintage numbers we have always believed are not accurate? I get the feeling that perhaps Rebello, Milton or perhaps Rebello's son may have had more copies struck. I am not sure if Milton retained possession of the dies or if these were given (sold) to Rebello. It doesn't really matter for the purpose of this inquiry. In discussion with Bill McKivor, he stated that he has handled perhaps a dozen Mdx 309s over the years and presently has two in stock. These numbers seem to be completely out of whack for such a rare token.

I am asking our members, readers and friends to let this writer know if you have a Middlesex 309 in your collection. This might help in settling the question of actual mintages. Please email me at fisher1835@yahoo.com or write me at 1835 Acorn Lane, Abington PA 19001 with your reply. Replies will be kept in the strictest confidence and a report will be given in the Spring 2009 issue with the results.



Middlesex 309 by grollcoins.com

The two great industries of England in the Middle Ages were agriculture and wool-raising. The wool was the finest grown in Europe and attracted hither merchants from the Continent. They travelled through England in the Cotswold and Hampshire districts, for instance, and bought wool largely. But in pretty early days England began to manufacture cloth of various kinds; and that, too, became an important article of export. This manufacture was especially strong in the eastern and western parts of the country. ... As the country began to recover from the effects of the Black Death, the cloth trade became a very flourishing industry and English wool-merchants became a very wealthy and powerful body. (from: OUR ENGLISH TOWNS AND VILLAGES)

Bishop Blaize and the Wool Combers

Tom Fredette

An obscure epistle possibly published in Norwich in 1783 relates "An oration, spoken by the wool combers on the return of peace and in commemoration of Bishop Blaize." One might assume that the 1783 date refers to the end of hostilities between Great Britain and the 13 colonies and the resumption of trade between both sides of the Atlantic. For if there ever was one segment of the British population that wished the Revolutionary War had never started and that it would end quickly, it would have been tradesmen. And those within the wool industry would have been in the forefront of that group.

One of the important associations with the wool industry which would be of interest to admirers of the late-18th century token series are those which depict Bishop Blaize. (Research for this article shows different spellings for this name: Blaize, Blaze, Blaise.) He is venerated as the patron saint of wool combers. The wool industry had been important to England, and to much of the rest of Europe for many centuries and Bishop Blaize had been, was in the 18th century and is now commemorated in many ways. A trip to the world-wide-web reveals pubs, hotels, museums and churches which celebrate this martyr - but his association with the wool industry in particular is our focus.



Devonshire 2 by Cheapside Tokens



Bishop Blaize

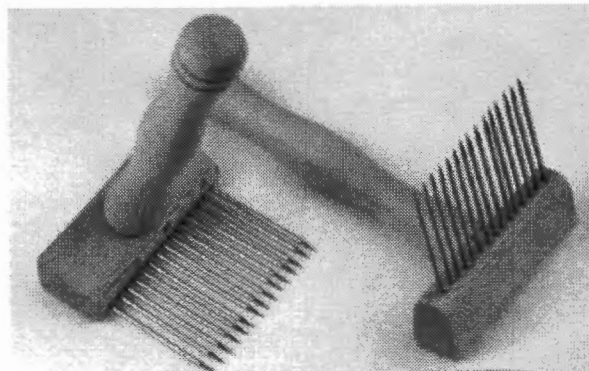
Who was Bishop Blaize? Butler's Lives of the Saints gives us as good an overview of the life of this man as any source. Of course, by the time one gets to the late-18th century this knowledge seems to be as much legend as it would be fact. He is referred to in Lives as both a bishop and martyr. (On late-18th century tokens he is depicted as a bishop or as a leader and shepherd of his flock.) Born c.316, "...nothing can be known with certainty, and very little with any probability as his cult seems not to have developed less than five centuries after his death." He is also referred to as Saint Blaise and has a "...particular association with sore throats (and the custom of the blessing of the throats) resulting from the legend that while he was in prison he cured a boy who had a fish bone stuck in his throat." He was (and is) venerated throughout Europe and middle Europe in this way as well. France, Germany and Armenia claim to possess his relics. Butler's Lives further states (importantly for our study) that "In Western art he usually wears episcopal robes and holds a woolcomb in reference to his martyrdom and his patronage of wool workers. He is shown as a bishop and holding a woolcomb on a screen in Ashton in Norfolk..."

What makes his association with and adoption by wool combers as a patron is his martyrdom. Wikipedia relates a description of the end of Saint Blaise's life noting that as with many Christians he was persecuted for his faith. "In iconography, Blaise is often shown with the instruments of his martyrdom, iron combs. The similarity of these instruments of torture to wool combs led to his adoption as the patron saint of woolcombers in particular and the wool trade in general." Lives further relates that he was beheaded "...after having his flesh torn with metal wool combs."

Wool Combs and the Woolen Industry

A additional Wikipedia reference tells us that "...popular enthusiasm for the saint is explained by the belief that Blaise had brought prosperity (as symbolized by the woolpack) to England by teaching the English to comb wool. According to the tradition as recorded in printed broadsheets, Blaise came from Jersey. Jersey was certainly a centre of woolen goods (as witnessed by the name "jersey" for the woolen textile.)

The Moretonhampstead website describes woolcombing as "the first stage after the shearing of the sheep in preparation of the wool for the spinner by combing it with teazels or special wool combs - wooden bats with rows of metal pins to 'tease' out the strands. The patron of the woolcombers was Bishop Blaze, who is depicted with a wool comb.... Traditionally this was the most important industry in Moreton, with a fulling mill recorded as early as 1297, but from various causes it declined to being not much more of a memory by the mid-19th century."



There are a number of tokens in the late-18th century series that show Bishop Blaize. Exeter Nos. 9-11 and Shrewsbury No. 23 show the woolcomb clearly. Some tokens in the Leeds series, Nos. 29-54 are the most artistic and beautifully detailed. A crude and less attractive portrait appears as Surrey No. 9. What Bell says in Specious Tokens is instructive and helps us understand the importance of the trade of which this man is an important symbol: "...in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I every alehouse-keeper in the town was ordered to have a signboard with a woolpack painted upon it hung up at his door; this sign being provided by the Hall Wardens on payment of 8/s; the penalty for neglect being 6/8d. The boards were to spread the fame of the town's woolen manufactures."

Bishop Blaize is commemorated and venerated widely still, but the woolen industry and in particular the wool combers of which he was a patron is different now. The Exeter web site notes "...the collapse of the Wool Trade. In the 1790s many traders and factory owners issued tokens for use in their businesses. Only one Exeter person was among them: Samuel Kingdon, the ironmonger. His tokens depict Bishop Blaize, the traditional patron saint of clothworkers, holding a woolcomb, the symbol of his martyrdom and surrounded by the words SUCCESS TO THE WOOLEN MANUFACTORY. The reverses show the city arms. Rather than succeed, however, the industry in fact collapsed entirely at the end of the 18th century."

As collectors, we are left with the beauty of the tokens.

Sources for this Article

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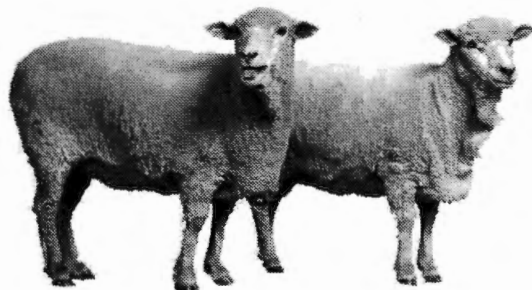
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and thanks to R.C. Bell for:
SPECIOUS TOKENS...



The Mayor of Garratt

William Irving's novel of Jeffrey Dunstan fills out the scant facts

By John Fisher

The year 1759 is full of momentous events. That year saw the births of Robert Burns, William Pitt the Younger, Mary Wollstonecraft, William Wilberforce and Jeffrey Dunstan. Other events, worthy of note, were the Battles of Quiberon Bay, Pondicherry and Quebec City and the opening of the British Museum and founding of the Guinness Brewery. The year 1796 is eventful too. Deaths included those of Robert Burns, brewer Samuel Whitbread, Catherine the Great and Jeffrey Dunstan. The tale of Jeffrey Dunstan, alive during these interesting times, makes for an interesting read on these cold wintry days.

It is difficult to separate the real from the unreal in this book, as nothing is noted about which events actually happened and which characters are purely in the author's mind and who actually existed. This determination is left to the reader. Token collectors know Dunstan from his image on Middlesex issues #26 (a penny), 315-316 (halfpenny) and 1056-57 and 1075 bis (farthing). Look for him also on Surrey 19-24. Perhaps you can refer to CTCC Journal issue #3, where you will find an excellent article on 'Sir' Jeffrey and two other Mayors of Garratt, written by Richard Gladdle. There is certainly an indefinable something in the image of Dunstan which makes these very appealing tokens. The author evokes this indefinable something, the gleam in his eye and the intelligence behind them, and casts Dunstan as in a very heroic and sympathetic light.

Irving, while living in Tooting, would often stop by The Leather Bottle, a public house on the site of the former Garratt elections. There the patrons must have swapped stories of Dunstan and the Garratt elections and Irving was hooked.

It must be remembered that this is a work of fiction and should be enjoyed as such. Someone who knows nothing about Dunstan's life and times will find it a more interesting read than those with certain knowledge of the era. Certain aspects of his life are too fabulous as to be believed. In this book, Dunstan meets and gains the favor of such personages as Georgiana, the Duchess of Devonshire, the Prince of Wales, the playwright Samuel Foote, Matthew Boulton of Soho Mint fame, Pitt the Younger and the intrepid Charles Fox.

Jeffrey was left as an orphan at the churchwarden's house at St. Dunstan's Church and when he was a few weeks old, was taken to The Foundling Hospital or 'The Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children'. Fate would have it that he was accepted as a ward of the hospital, which did not care for newborns and arrangements were made for his placement in a foster home until his fifth birthday, whereupon he was returned to the hospital. George Frideric Handel was a great benefactor of this institution but dies in this novel shortly after Jeffrey is returned, a great loss to the Hospital. In reality, Handel died some five years earlier, in 1759. Jeffrey was

to remain at The Foundling Hospital for the next seven years at which time he was apprenticed to a greengrocer.

The most dynamic event in Jeffrey's short life was the mock elections of the Mayor of Garratt and here the book is most interesting and entertaining with panoply of whacky characters filling the stage. These elections were attended by some huge crowds, numbering some 80,000 people, all of whom were part of a great revel with much drinking, a Georgian Mardi Gras celebration. Dunstan was elected in 1784 and served until shortly before his death. During that time, he became a man about town, a cause célèbre and would draw attention wherever he traveled. We are reminded again and again that Jeffrey's favorite drink was an ale, Hodges Best, and Sir Jeffrey probably found it difficult to buy a round wherever he drank. Truth be told, Jeffrey drank copious quantities. He plied his trade as a second hand wig seller until his death. He was a droll sight on busy London streets with his sack of wigs on his shoulder and sometimes trailed by his donkey, Tom, who also carried wigs. He never ceased to gain the public's attention with his amusing appearance.

In the years before his death, Dunstan wrote a pamphlet on the rights of man which was published anonymously but his authorship was soon discovered. George III was fearful that the effects of the French Revolution would sweep across the Channel. He was tried and convicted of sedition and spent a year in the miserable confines of Newgate Gaol. 'Sir' Jeffrey would thusly lose his public approval and following and only his closest friends stuck by him in this trying period. One cold wintry night, he staggered home from a night of merry making with his friends and fell asleep outside his home in the bitter cold. He would not see the light of day. He was buried at St. Mary's, Whitechapel, mourned by rich and poor alike.

If you wish to obtain a copy of this tale of joy and woe, Bill McKivor has a few copies for sale on a first come basis. It would not surprise me if this book were to be made into a movie or a BBC miniseries. The part of 'Sir' Jeffrey will be a casting challenge.



Middlesex 315c by Cheapside Tokens

THE CONDER ERA – 1791

Michael Grogan



By 1791 Conder token production was well underway. This Lancashire 71 is from the extensive and often counterfeited “Liverbird” series of Liverpool. The image is provided by Cheapside Tokens.

World Events in 1791

- Congress establishes the U.S. Mint
- Fleeing French King Louis XVI and his family are captured
- Danish navigator Vitus Jonas Bering discovers Alaska
- French Constitution is passed by the French National Assembly
- Britain's Observer, the oldest Sunday newspaper in the world, is first published
- The first U.S. law school is established at the University of Pennsylvania
- New York City traffic regulation creates its first 1-way street
- Long-distance communication speeds up with the unveiling of a semaphore machine in Paris.
- The Priestley Riots break out in Birmingham, England.
- The Champ de Mars Massacre occurs during the French Revolution.
- John Fitch is granted a patent for the steamboat in the United States.
- Louis XVI of France accepts the final version of the completed constitution.
- Austrian composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart dies.
- The first American ship reaches Japan.
- An ordinance is written barring the game of baseball within 80 yards of the Meeting House in Pittsway, Massachusetts (first known reference to the game of baseball in North America).
- The British Parliament passes the Constitutional Act of 1791, splitting the old province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada.
- Vermont is admitted as the 14th U.S. state
- Ratification by the states of the first ten amendments to the United States Constitution is completed, creating the United States Bill of Rights. Two additional amendments remain pending, and one of these is finally ratified in 1992, becoming the Twenty-seventh Amendment.

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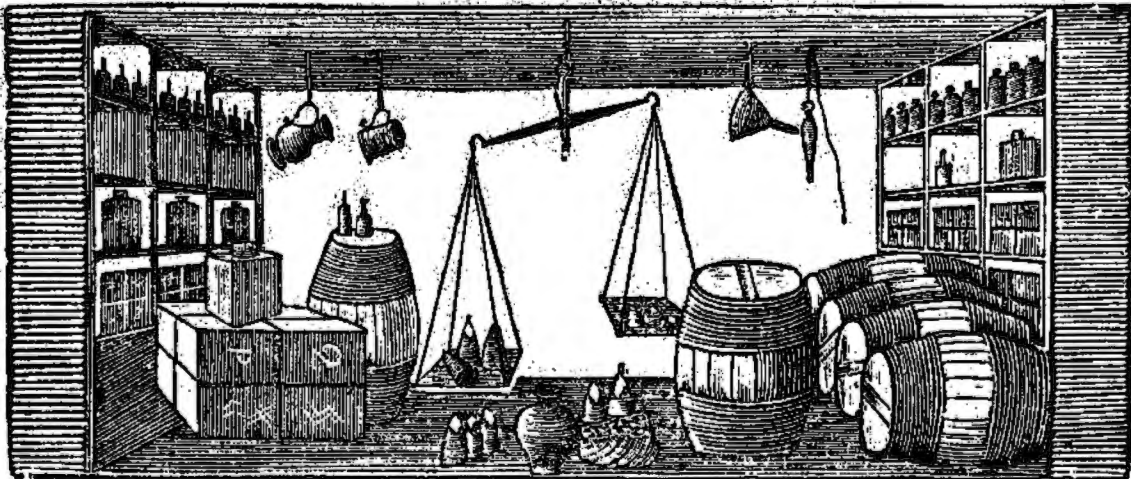
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*Cambridgeshire 9, ex Noble and not on the market since the Noble sale
From our first 2009 sale catalog*

Fifty issues is both a milestone and a fascinating jog to my memory. I remember when Wayne Anderson was working on the first issue, calling everyone he could think of for contributions, and assembling the first "Conder" Token Newsletter on a primitive computer. I don't think he knew there was a lower case option as he wrote, but it is also possible that he used capital letters on all the text because he was so wildly enthusiastic about the entire enterprise. Though I spent substantial time working with him as he put it together, my advertisement in that first issue was buried inside. Since then, I have always advertised on the back page.

Since Wayne has gone and production of this publication handed down to others, I have been impressed with the dedication put into each issue. I have been a token enthusiast from the very beginning of my numismatic career. Over the years I have updated *Dalton and Hamer* and published it in three editions, travelled half way around the world (twice to Australia) to attend token auctions, handled most of the major rarities (I underbid the Sawbridgeworth penny but Jerry got it), given talks and an ANA course on the series and the era, and helped build and sell major collections. Several of our auction catalogs have featured major token collections, and the results have always exceeded expectations.

We are almost out of our latest edition of *Dalton and Hamer*. To date, well over 1300 copies of the edition that we began with in 1990 have been sold and very few ever show up in the used book market.

You should be on our mailing list. If you did not get our latest catalog, sent at the end of December 2008, then we do not have you on our active mailing list. If you are at the point of selling, or interested in expanding your collection, please get in touch.

I am always interested in buying collections of better material, tokens and medals and books relating to tokens. Please call or write.

*Best wishes for the New Year,
Allan Davisson*



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